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ting it stand as the center of the most important part of his career. The author has sat in many congresses himself and appreciates those qualities in his subject that made of him a cool and courageous parliamentarian. He has given what is in effect the conclusions of his own life, in the form of biography of his old friend. His familiarity with congressional politics through participation in them adds to both the strength and the weakness of his work. He has relied less upon sources than would have been desirable; he has given interpretations that few historians could hope to match. He refers occasionally to letters and diaries of Reed — even to a diary kept in French — but he seems to have used these sources rarely. He has made the book a history of Reed's times, with Reed as central figure, rather than a painstaking study of either his personality or his real share in public events.

Reed was first elected to congress in 1876, and remained in his seat until his resignation after his reelection in 1898. He was minority leader after 1885, speaker, 1889-1891 and 1895-1899. He belonged to that element of the republican party that drew its inspiration from the slavery-restriction issues, and defended on principle the "American system" and "sound money." He was never on the inside of the group that gave to the party its amalgamation with business and finance. In 1896 he was a rival of McKinley for the nomination, having the support of the idealistic wing of the party, including Roosevelt and Lodge. "Oh, Lord!" wrote the former of these to him, on July 31, 1896, "what would I not give if only you were our standard-bearer." But in a few more months even these passed out of sympathy with Reed when they took up the war with Spain and the creation of a colonial empire. His resignation, after the election of 1898 had confirmed the McKinley administration in its course, is one of the dates that mark the complete renaissance of the republican party.

Mr. McCall has done well the things that he has undertaken to do, and his book will be a useful addition to our materials on the eighties and nineties.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

Reconstruction in North Carolina. By J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph. D., alumni professor of history, University of North Carolina. [Studies in history, economics and public law edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University, vol. LVIII, whole no. 141.] (New York: Columbia University, 1914. 683 p. \$4.00)

Mr. Hamilton's *Reconstruction in North Carolina* covers the period 1860 to 1876. It is a comprehensive study. Of the seventeen chapters

the first six (the first chapter of 80 pages is given to the secession movement and civil war) were privately printed in 1906 in fulfillment of degree requirements, but as they now appear have been subjected to material revision. This earlier work carries the narrative through 1868. The larger part of the book, 374 of the 667 pages, appears for the first time, except that two chapters are reprinted from periodicals. The scope of this part of the volume is indicated by the chapter titles: "The freedmen's bureau," "The Union League," "The republican regime," "Railroad legislation and the frauds," "The Ku Klux movement," "The reign of terror," "The reform legislature of 1870-1872," "The closing years of reconstruction," "Education in reconstruction," "The overthrow of reconstruction."

In his twelve years of study, Mr. Hamilton appears to have exhausted practically all sources of information. He has made copious use not only of all published documents and of the newspapers of the state, but has had access to several important unpublished collections of private correspondence. All this material has been thoroughly digested. Indeed, the work has been so thoroughly done as to justify the belief that it will remain the standard authority in the field. The narrative is easy and lucid and will appeal to the general reader. It is a matter of regret that no bibliography is given; and the index is inadequate.

In a work of such uniform excellence it is difficult to point to any particular portion as requiring special praise, and the shortcomings are few. The viewpoint is largely political, and the perplexing details of the factional struggles have been set forth skillfully and in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. The author shows a remarkable intimacy with the personalities of whom he writes. Of the chapters on the social disorders, those on the Ku Klux movement and the railroad frauds stand out. Apparently material was not found for a detailed study of the effect of reconstruction policies on education, except in connection with the state university, and very little light is thrown on the revolution in the realm of agriculture. Mr. Hamilton writes in a spirit distinctly sympathetic with the southern view of the character of carpetbag and Negro rule. In denouncing in good set terms the iniquities of the alien government, he is, however, in the excellent company of Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Dunning. It would tax the ingenuity of the most confirmed partisan to find anything worthy of commendation in the conduct of the interlopers and their native associates.

As was the case in other states, the Johnson reconstruction was carried through with little friction. The old whig element, who had opposed secession, took the lead in this abortive restoration. Mr. Hamilton found much to commend in the conduct of Generals Ruger and Sickles,

who worked in harmony with the civil government. The black code was far less drastic than in those states where the Negro was a larger percentage of the population.

The radicals made a clean sweep of the offices with the overthrow of the Johnson government, and ushered in a saturnalia of legislative and social crime which lasted for two years. A detailed study of the work of the constitutional convention of 1868 is given. The convention was wholly dominated by the radicals, there being only thirteen conservative members; and, yet, the excesses of the convention were not so pronounced as in some other states. Numerous changes were made in the new constitution, the general tendency being to give more direct control to the people.

The government installed in 1868 was typical of all the others of the period. The leading figure was Governor Holden, whose career was picturesque. One of the earliest and most violent of the seceders, Holden suddenly drew back in the presence of the crisis, but swung back in line and lent his influence as editor of an important paper to the radicals of 1861; he created all the trouble he could for the confederacy; ingratiated himself with President Johnson and was appointed provisional governor; then abandoned the president and aligned himself with the extremest of the congressional radicals; was made governor in 1868, and finally closed his career as defendant in successful impeachment proceedings in 1870. Holden's administration was characterised by general venality of appointments, nepotism, illegal setting aside of town officials and judges, the inciting of Negroes to crime, and by a great railway scandal. More than a hundred thousand dollars were used in inducing the legislature to pledge the credit of the state in the aid of railroads (pp. 430-431). The amount of bonds authorized was \$27,000,000, though only \$17,000,000 were actually issued. These were later repudiated by North Carolina (p. 662).

An interesting episode in the administration of Holden was the reconstruction of the University of North Carolina (pp. 619-630). Under a provision of the new constitution the existing board of trustees of the institution was replaced by one chosen by the board of education (composed of state house officials). Practically all the new board were radical republicans. A Reverend Solomon Pool, unknown even in North Carolina, was made president, and partly because of the influence of his brother, a prominent radical politician, and partly because of a public statement made shortly before his selection to the effect that the university "should be thoroughly loyalized. Better close it than have it a nursery of treason to foster and perpetuate the feelings of disloyalty. Let the present Board of Trustees be superseded by a loyal Board and

the University will be a blessing instead of a curse," the old faculty gave way to one of "loyal" men. But the element to which the institution had always looked for patronage refused to send their sons. Thirty-five students were in attendance the first year, twenty-five of them being in a preparatory department. Mr. Hamilton says that "the University as constituted was a fraud and a farce and deserved to die," as it did in 1870, for lack of students. On the return of home rule, the institution was revived.

In summing up the political results of reconstruction policies, Mr. Hamilton is convinced that North Carolina today would be a solidly republican state but for the unfortunate intervention of congress in 1867 (p. 663). This opinion is based on the fact that the whigs were numerous and active in 1865, formed the conservative party without much cooperation from the democrats, with whom the whigs had no idea of uniting politically, and carried through the presidential plan of reconstruction. Had the civil war period closed then it would have left a well-organized whig party, who would have naturally amalgamated with the national republican party. The democrats were under a cloud and it was eight years after the close of the war before there was an avowed democratic party in the state. The overthrow of the Johnson government and the enfranchisement of the Negroes, however, gave the democrats their chance and forced the whigs to act with them. "It was this element that the Republican party rejected for the solid negro vote. The latter was soon lost, for the negroes in the mass, proving to be lacking in political capacity and knowledge, were driven, intimidated, bought, and sold, the playthings of politicians, until finally their very so-called right to vote became the sore spot of the body politic. Their participation in politics gave the Democratic party the preponderance of the talent and character of the population and, for many years, a safe majority of the white votes. Coming into power as a result of the disgust of the people for the infamy of the Republican administration of the government, the party remained in control of affairs because it proved itself fit to rule, and because there was no hope of decent government outside of it."

R. P. BROOKS

The French in the heart of America. By John Finley, commissioner of education and president of the University of the State of New York. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915. 431 p. \$2.50 net)

When Mr. Finley was appointed by Harvard University exchange professor at the Sorbonne this book was born. From his boyhood home on the banks of the Illinois in the county still bearing the name of its great